

# STAFF NOTES:

# Middle East Africa South Asia

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#### Nigeria

Tough Stand on Corruption

The new military government is taking a strong public stand against corruption, which is widely prevalent in the Nigerian political system. The recently appointed military governors have been admonished not to tolerate abuse of power or graft and are already dismissing large numbers of allegedly corrupt officials.

At this point it does not appear that former high officials of the Gowon regime--popularly thought to have been corrupt--will be investigated or punished as demanded by the press and student groups. Although continued public clamor could compel the government to move against some lesser figures associated with Gowon, the generous treatment accorded members of his government so far has created an impression of statesmanlike restraint and contributed to the acceptance of the new regime.

The new leadership presumably is aware of the political risks of letting its anti-corruption campaign get out of hand. Unrestrained accusations against former senior officers could prompt counter charges against some members of the new regime who may not be above suspicion themselves.

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#### Tanzania-Uganda

Taking Amin Seriously

US personnel working in Dodoma, the future capital now being built in central Tanzania, have been ordered by the government to build air raid shelters as a precaution against Ugandan bombing.

Tanzanian fears of air raids may have been increased by Amin's announcement on August 9 that fedayeen pilots are now serving with the Ugandan air force. Although we cannot confirm that Palestinian pilots are in Uganda, any such assistance would help overcome Uganda's shortage of pilots for its MIG 17s and 21s. Lack of pilots has been Uganda's major deficiency with respect to the Tanzanians. In 1972, after the unsuccessful Tanzanian-supported Ugandan exile raids into Uganda, the Ugandan air force raided the Tanzanian city of Bukoba by pushing explosives out the door of a transport aircraft.

Amin's retaliation against Nyerere for his efforts to prevent the holding of the OAU summit in Kampala will probably not go beyond threats and propaganda attacks for the time being. Amin is preoccupied with his new role as OAU chairman and is anticipating an extensive schedule of foreign trips, including one to the September UN General Assembly session in New York.

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#### Israel

#### Future in the UN

The meeting later this month of the nonaligned countries in Lima will be a watershed in the campaign to expel or suspend Israel from the 30th UN General Assembly or, at the least, to secure sanctions against Tel Aviv for refusing to comply with UN resolutions.

The campaign, thus far, has had its ups and downs. In June, at the regional preparatory meetings for the Lima conference at Tehran and Cairo, the Arabs secured resolutions calling for the exclusion of Israel from the UN Human Settlements Conference scheduled for 1976 in Canada.

At the conference's regional meetings in Geneva and Caracas, other delegations immediately countered this move, however, by introducing statements extolling "universality" in the UN. The Islamic foreign ministers, meeting last month in Jidda, Saudi Arabia, called for the ouster of Israel from the UN, its related agencies, and all international conferences.

The Arab militants were not so successful, however, at the Organization of African Unity summit in Kampala. The African heads of state rejected resolutions demanding Israel's expulsion or suspension from the UN. The Arabs came away from Kampala with a watered-down resolution calling for increased pressure on Israel, "including the possibility of eventually depriving it of its membership" in the UN.

The OAU position represented a shift for many African states; nearly all had broken diplomatic relations with Israel after the 1973 war. The Africans' decision on Israel primarily reflects their dissatisfaction with the meager assistance given them by the OPEC countries.

During the Lima nonaligned conference--August 25 to 29--the Arabs will try to regain the momentum they lost in Kampala. The results of their efforts will

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depend in large part on the status of EgyptianIsraeli disengagement negotiations and the resistance
of some nonaligned countries to the radicals' demands.
If a Sinai disengagement agreement has been concluded
or seems close by the time of the Lima conference,
the Egyptians are likely to oppose any move to expel
or suspend Israel. They would be supported by some
Africans and the Yugoslavs.

It is unlikely that the issue will be brought up next month at the UN's Seventh Special Session on economic cooperation and development. Both developing and developed countries have worked hard in two preparatory meetings to prevent the more radical states from taking control of the session. Many of the developing as well as developed states believe that raising the Israeli issue will break up a conference they consider very important.

At the UN General Assembly itself, the Arabs will probably follow closely the method used to suspend South Africa from last year's session. Then, as in previous years, the General Assembly voted not to accept the credentials of the South African delegation, but departed from previous procedure when the General Assembly president—Algeria's Bouteflika—interpreted the credentials vote as a call for suspension. His decision was upheld in a subsequent vote. Under this pressure, South Africa withdrew from the session.

The UN charter requires a recommendation from the Security Council before a member can be suspended or expelled. Britain and France would join the US in vetoing any such proposal directed against Israel.

Israel, however, could suffer a fate similar to that of South Africa if the Africans and some of the Arabs believe Tel Aviv has not been cooperating on moving toward another disengagement agreement.

The French, who hope not to antagonize the nonaligned countries, probably will exert pressure on Gaston Thorn of Luxembourg, president of the next

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General Assembly, to repeat the Bouteflika ruling on South Africa. Such a decision on South Africa would be viewed as a dangerous precedent by the Israelis.

The radical Arabs, such as the Syrians, Libyans, and the Palestine Liberation Organization, are still calling for Israel's expulsion.

Egypt now publicly says that it would be best for Israel to stay in the UN, obliged to fulfill UN resolutions but still subject to the threat of suspension in case of noncompliance.

The rifts among the Third World and nonaligned countries on the issue and how far some of them will go in opposing strong action against Israel will become clearer at Lima. There have been signs in recent days that some momentum is developing for a less radical position.

Yugoslavia, for example, is adamantly opposed to Israel's suspension or expulsion and is making attempts to persuade others to adopt this view. A Yugoslav official recently said that Belgrade would, if necessary, break with the nonaligned camp for the first time by refusing to sign any declaration calling for such a step.

A crack in African support for Arab causes—as shown in Kampala—is also evident. The Arabs already have found it difficult to tie the Israeli issue to the more emotionally charged South African situation when dealing with the black African states.

During informal discussions among Western leaders at Helsinki last month, the EC countries agreed to make bilateral approaches—as opposed to a Community approach—to the nonaligned countries to discourage an initiative against Israel. Thus far, however, only France, Great Britian, the Netherlands, and Italy have approached Third World countries with their views.

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The EC earlier issued a statement calling for continued dialogue among all UN member states to reaffirm the universal nature of the UN. The governments of Mexico, Zaire, Austria, and Canada, among others, have made forceful statements of opposition to Israel's suspension or expulsion from the UN. The West European Socialist leaders last month also pledged solidarity against any Arab initiative to expel Israel.

The Soviets have expressed particular interest in the Israeli question, but seem intent on not taking any public position.

Tel Aviv has decided to fight hard to keep its delegation in the General Assembly. Prime Minister Rabin, for instance, attended the recent gathering of West European Socialist leaders in Stockholm primarily to argue Israel's case.

Tel Aviv has pointedly raised the issue of the effect its suspension from the General Assembly could have on UN involvement in Middle East peace efforts. Foreign Minister Allon told the Knesset in late July that Israel would have to "reconsider" its policy toward UN activities if the Arabs succeeded in their campaign. He later told reporters that he would recommend to the government that it order a suspension of UN activities in Israel and oppose UN participation in Geneva peace conference activities.

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